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UNPAID ELDER CARE PROVISION IN CANADA IN RELATION TO ROLES AND RESOURCES OF ADULT CHILD CAREGIVERS

BY

TAMMY P. SCHMIDT

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION.

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **UNPAID ELDER CARE PROVISION IN CANADA IN RELATION TO ROLES AND RESOURCES OF ADULT CHILD CAREGIVERS** here submitted by **TAMMY P. SCHMIDT** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF SCIENCE IN FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION** .

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Dedicated to:

All adult children as unpaid providers of elder care

ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this study was to understand how social roles and individual resources of adult daughters and sons of elderly parents (aged 65+) were related to unpaid elder care in Canada. Marital, parental, employment, and occupational roles were included in the analyses, along with education and personal income as independent variables. The provision of housework, maintenance, transportation, personal care, and financial support were included as dependent variables. Concepts and assumptions from social role and feminist theories were utilized as the basis of the conceptual framework.

The study was based upon a secondary analysis of the 1990 Statistics Canada *General Social Survey (GSS) on Family and Friends*. The sample consisted of 3,505 male and female adult child respondents. Data were analyzed using univariate and bivariate statistics. Statistical comparisons by respondent gender were made in regards to the relationships between independent and dependent variables. Comparisons between males and females were also made in relation to roles, resources, and elder care.

It was found that small proportions of male and female respondents provided any elder care for a parent in the 12 months prior to the survey. A greater proportion of adult daughters than adult sons provided housework and transportation, whereas more sons than daughters provided maintenance. The research hypotheses met with mixed results. Few differences amongst female respondents were found on the basis of roles occupied or resources possessed. The same was true of male respondents.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Filial care of the dependent elderly has become a normative life experience. Most people now can expect to be faced with the prospect of helping at least one or more elderly parents at some point in their lives (Brody, 1986).

Background of Inquiry

The Canadian population is aging. Around the year 2031, approximately 20% of the population will be aged 65 and over, and almost half of the elderly will be over age 75 (Chappell, 1994a). Elder care is one of the most central policy issues in our aging society (Chappell, 1993). As the population ages and more people live to advanced ages, the provision of formal and informal care or support for dependent elderly individuals is expected to increase greatly (Cantor, 1991).The kind of support required may include, transportation, shopping, housework, or personal care (Rosenthal & Gladstone, 1994). Considerable attention has been given to understanding the implications of an aging population for formal and informal care provision within Canada.

The sources, types, and amounts of care provided to older persons in the community who are in need of assistance have been studied by social gerontologists and family studies scholars. The vast majority of care comes from informal care providers. Estimates are that 85 to 90% of the care of elderly Canadians is provided within the context of the family (Aronson, 1992; Medjuck, O'Brien, & Tozer, 1992). Informal care to the growing numbers of elderly people in need of care is confronting more and more family members within Canada and elsewhere. Informal care represents unpaid caregiving work. Family members are not paid or financially remunerated to provide such care.

Diverse researchers have explored the elder caregiving roles and behaviors of various family members. For the elderly without a spouse, adult children are the principal providers of unpaid support (Montgomery, 1992; Spitze & Logan, 1991a). Brody (1990) has claimed that

contemporary adult children provide more elder care and more difficult care to parents over longer periods of time than ever before. Parent care is a normative experience for adult children (Brody, 1985; 1990).

A prevalent interest of feminist social science scholars is the impact of gender on the organization or structure of informal elder care within families (Dwyer & Coward, 1992; Stoller, 1993; Witt, 1994). Finch and Mason (1993) claim that gender divisions and gender relations are fundamental to patterns of family responsibilities. Differing elder care behaviors are expected of men and women in families. Caregiving for the elderly reflects a pronounced gender division of labour reflected in both the kinds of help and the amount of time given to caregiving tasks (Medjuck et al., 1992). Analyzed data from a number of studies indicate that women are the major providers of unpaid support for their families (Dowler, Jordan- Simpson, & Adams, 1992). Adult daughters are more likely than adult sons to be primary parent caregivers (Rosenthal & Gladstone, 1994).

Statement of Problem

In addition to parental care, many adult daughters and sons have myriad parenting, spousal, and employment responsibilities (Spitze & Logan, 1990b). Each role entails several expectations and commitments that demand reserves of time and energy. Adult children with multiple roles have been termed by family scholars as women (and men) "in the middle" of concurrent competing commitments, obligations, and demands (Brody, 1985; 1990; Spitze & Logan, 1990b). The concept of divided allegiances has been used in reference to multiple social roles (Hawranik, 1985). Balancing of roles is often required.

Researchers and theorists have focused upon the potential for various role conflicts within the lives of family members. When women and men are caught between the demands of children, parents, and work, they often experience stress and burden (Connidis, 1994). People with caregiving responsibilities are at greatest risk of experiencing conflict between their work

and family lives (Barr, Johnson, & Warshaw, 1992; CARNET, 1993; Gerstel & Gallagher, 1993; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton & Emlen, 1993).

Adult daughters and sons may be unable to provide elder care, including, transportation, personal care, or maintenance, for example, due to conflicting family and paid work roles. Marital, parental, and employment and occupational roles have been viewed by some researchers and theorists as constraints or contingencies in the fulfillment of parental care responsibilities (Matthews, 1995). Elder care role negotiation is often required. Discrepancies in findings and conclusions exist amongst researchers that illustrate a lack of overall consensus. It has been argued that researchers should ask similar questions and test comparable hypotheses with different data sources to build consensus (Dwyer & Coward, 1992).

In addition to social roles, individual resources possessed by adult sons and daughters of elderly parents have been discussed by theorists interested in the provision of unpaid care and in how resources pertain to elder care role negotiation (Archbold, 1983; Finley, 1989; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995; Stoller, 1993). Resources such as income and education are thought to influence the roles, alternatives, and role negotiation processes of family members. For instance, adult children with higher incomes may purchase private care services which can substitute for informal unpaid elder care. As a result, informal care may be less likely to be provided by such adult children.

Theoretical interpretations of research results is largely lacking in much literature. The hypotheses and findings of previous research studies seldom have been discussed in the context of a conceptual framework. Given the gendered nature of unpaid care in families further research is needed that takes into account a feminist conceptual model of unpaid parental care.

Additional research on unpaid elder caregiving also is needed for methodological reasons. Relatively little national level information exist about adult children providing care or support to elderly parents in Canada. Further, little research investigating gender and elder care behaviors is based upon large scale representative samples from which to generalize results to the larger population of adult children. Instead, unrepresentative small sample sizes

are the norm (Horowitz, 1992; Malonebeach & Zarit, 1991). Findings from such studies may be quite biased. Research on a representative national sample is therefore warranted.

Purpose of Study and Research Question

The major purpose of this research investigation was to examine how specific social roles and individual resources of adult children in families relate to unpaid informal elder care provided by adult daughters and sons to elderly parent(s). The central focus is whether care is given by female and male adult children on the basis of social roles occupied and individual resources possessed.

The research question asked in this study is: How do social roles and individual resources of adult daughters and sons relate to unpaid elder care by female and male adult children to elderly parents?

Justification for Study

Changes are taking place within the Canadian health care system. Greater emphasis is being placed upon care within the community for older people (Chappell, 1994a; Chappell & Prince, 1994; Rosenthal, 1994; Shapiro, 1994). Agendas for social development and family policy change across Canada have informal support as a cornerstone of community care (Chappell & Prince, 1994). Increasing family responsibilities and obligations pertaining to elder care are important government goals. Adult children are now under much greater political pressure to provide unpaid informal care for their aging parents in need of assistance due to government reductions in spending for publicly provided care. This is particularly the case with the transfer of many caregiving responsibilities from institution to home now taking place (Glazer, 1990).

Information on unpaid elder care can assist policy makers and service program planners in understanding the types of formal supports that need to be provided by governments and

private agencies to assist older persons in need whose adult children may be constrained in their ability (or even willingness) to provide unpaid supports. For example, if most adult children do not provide personal care or housework in order for an older parent to remain within their own home such care may need to be provided by formal care services in the community.

CHAPTER 2
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Concepts, assumptions, and propositions from social role and feminist theories will be utilized in this chapter to provide a conceptual framework for understanding how specific social roles and individual resources of adult children relate to unpaid elder care. Social role theory addresses the nature of constraints that may prohibit the provision of unpaid care by adult sons and daughters. Feminist theory addresses issues of power and how gender is of importance in the fulfillment of elder care responsibilities.

Social Roles of Adult Children

As defined here, social roles are expectations for behavior. They are thought to reflect norms, attitudes, contextual demands, and negotiations (Biddle, 1986; Knipscheer, ter Heine, & Ramakers, 1987; Matthews & Sprey, 1989; Rodgers & White, 1993). Roles that have primacy in the lives of most men and women are family and paid work roles. As an example, adult children have parental caregiving roles (Wolfson, Handfield-Jones, Glass, McClaran, & Keyserlingk, 1993). In contrast to roles, behaviors are defined as the actions of individuals. Caregiving behaviors include such actions as providing transportation, personal care, or housework for an older parent.

Male and female family members are expected to have different elder care roles based on gender (Baines, Evans, & Neysmith, 1991; Bridges & Lynam, 1993; Walker, 1991). Female and male gender roles include different expectations of helping (Eagly & Crowley, 1986). Daughters may be expected to carry out unpaid personal care and housework tasks for an elderly parent whereas sons may be expected to provide unpaid maintenance, transportation, and financial support. Gender-specific roles have substantial influence on behaviors (Allen,

Mor, Raveis, & Houts, 1993). As stated by Matthews (1995, p. 315), " ... gender is used by families as a taken-for-granted way to assign tasks".

Gender roles specific to caregiving emerge from ideologies and norms concerning a gender based division of family labor (Baines et al., 1991; Chafetz, 1988). "The widespread gender division between different types of care suggests the presence of institutionalized social forces that determine role allocation within the family" (Bridges & Lynam, 1993, p. 35). Caregiving roles are socially determined and sanctioned (Finch, 1989). This illustrates how the larger societal context needs to be acknowledged in the analysis of elder care. Individual behavior does not occur in isolation from the social context.

The term role set refers to the concurrent roles of an individual (Biddle, 1986). Each role entails numerous competing expectations. Women for instance, are responsible for the care of children and other dependent relatives, as well as meeting the needs of their husbands (James, 1992). An assumption advanced by social role theorists is that performance in one role, such as elder care provider, may depend upon the concurrent life roles of an adult child caregiver (Spitze & Logan, 1990b). Time and energy spent at work may reduce the time and energy with which to fulfill family caregiving responsibilities (Duxbury, Lee, Higgins, & Mills, 1991). This illustrates how roles can function as constraints.

Conformity or compliance to expected roles is not a certainty (Biddle, 1986). A role incumbent will follow his/her social role conceptions, unless special circumstances make this difficult or impossible (Knipscheer et al., 1987). A competing commitment perspective stresses the time dimension of the conflicts among multiple roles (Stoller & Pugliesi, 1989). The time available for family labor is influenced by competing role demands (Finley, 1989). It has been shown that presence of young children contributes to feelings of time stress among women (Frederick, 1993).Young children have the least independence and most need for child care (Neal et al., 1993). Difficulties in balancing multiple roles due to time pressures can result in role conflict (Finley, 1989; Finley, Roberts, & Banahan, 1988; Neal et al., 1993).

Role Conflict

Role conflict is defined as occurring when there are two or more incompatible or divergent roles. It exists when an individual finds that compliance with one role requirement makes it difficult to comply with another role requirement (Biddle, 1986). Much has been written about role conflict in relation to elder care and how adult child caregivers must handle competing expectations and demands resulting from work and family responsibilities (Stephens & Franks, 1995; Greenhaus, 1989).

Myles (1991) has theorized that a crisis in caregiving is likely to result from a decrease in the amount of unpaid working time available to the traditional providers of elder care, who are mostly women. Any shortage of time can impede the caregiving process (Fisher & Tronto, 1990). The role of one's job may be incompatible with the expectations for the informal care of one's older parent. Having to combine paid work and unpaid elder care responsibilities can lead to conflict among caregivers' outside work and family roles (CARNET, 1993; Scharlach, 1994; Scharlach, Sobel, & Roberts, 1991). Job-family conflict results from competing role demands that lead to difficulties coordinating the practical demands of a job and the needs of dependent family members (Stone & Lero, 1994). Caregivers report less time and energy to meet a care recipient's needs because of working (Scharlach, 1994). Many work organizations are structured on the assumption that positions are filled by workers with no other demands (Acker, 1990). An adult child's employee role can therefore function as a barrier or deterrent to parental care provision.

The type of occupation or work position an adult child is employed within is of importance in understanding job-family conflict (Greenhaus, 1989; Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1994). Managers and professionals report more conflict and work role demands than technical or clerical employees. Individuals in higher status occupations also report more commitment to work (Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1992). It is thought that career commitment is a salient factor that can influence caregiving (Archbold, 1983). A person who is career oriented attaches a high level of salience to her/his occupation (Greenhaus, 1989). Professional and

managerial workers experience more difficulty combining work and family roles than other employees (Neal et al., 1993). The employment of adult children in higher social status occupations or careers is therefore expected to function as a greater elder care role constraint than the employment of adult children in lower status occupations.

Unpaid Elder Care Role Negotiation

From the perspective of symbolic interactionists, roles emerge from negotiations (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1990; Finch, 1987; 1989; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). Role negotiation is a process of resolving role conflict and handling demands resulting from multiple commitments (Thoits, 1987; Ungerson, 1987). It is assumed to constitute an individual level process. Specifically, individuals themselves negotiate roles. For example, the parental caregiver role is negotiated by many adult children, "... on an individual level, each person necessarily has to engage in a task of 'working out' what to do for his or her own parents in a given set of circumstances" (Finch & Mason, 1990, p. 160). An adult child must decide whether any parental care behaviors such as housework or transportation can be provided to an older parent given his or her other family and work role demands/commitments.

Different processes of role negotiation apply to women and men, especially around issues of caring (Finch & Mason, 1993). As an assumption, it is thought that men withdraw or discontinue their overall involvement in many elder care tasks due to role conflict, while women work harder to balance multiple roles despite personal costs or conflicts experienced. The utilization of gendered role justifications is part of the process of negotiation.

Gendered Role Justifications

It is theorized that, " ... the caring relationship is negotiated ... within the structural context of forceful normative expectations and beliefs" (Walker, 1991, p. 106). This means that individual level negotiation processes are engaged in within the larger societal context. There

are gender specific excuses or justifications for women's and men's contributions to family work (Thompson, 1991). Finch and Mason (1993) claim that when it comes to a specific need on the part of a relative, women and men have differential access to legitimate justifications which they can successfully implement in order to resolve role conflict.

Women are subject to ideological pressures to be family caregivers, irrespective of their individual circumstances (Aronson, 1992; Ungerson, 1987). "The filial expectations on women are so strong that they usually hold firm even when demanding commitments are maintained in other areas of life" (Kendig, 1986, p.100). Adult daughters are viewed as being able to juggle various commitments simultaneously without the need to prioritize one over another (Finch & Mason, 1993). Married women, mothers of preschool and school aged children cannot choose not to engage in the care of a parent. This situation has been referred to as "compulsory altruism" for women (Land & Rose, 1985). They are therefore obliged to be caregivers of elderly parents without being able to negotiate the caregiving role in order to resolve role conflict. As a result, the marital and parental status of an adult daughter are not expected to relate to unpaid elder care behaviors due to such normative obligations.

In contrast, an adult son's marital role is seen as representing a legitimate role justification that can be used for abdication or alleviation of informal elder care responsibilities or demands due to the absence of forceful normative caregiving obligations amongst men. Fewer married sons may provide care in comparison to their unmarried male counterparts.

Employment is another role justification which is gendered. There is the presumption that men's paid work has primacy over family demands. Currently, for many men, family roles are still peripheral to work responsibilities; they are excused from active participation within family matters when their jobs interfere (Ferree, 1990). Men are "permitted" to forego family activities in favor of work or career commitments (Greenhaus, 1989). As a result, employed sons may not fulfill parental care responsibilities. It is reported that sons are more likely than

daughters to reduce caregiving responsibilities in response to a conflict between waged work and elder care (Abel, 1990).

Females in families are not able to use their employee or occupational role as a legitimate justification for not providing expected care to an older dependent parent. Medjuck et al. (1992) argue that care of family members is assigned to women regardless of whether they work exclusively in the home or whether they remain in the labour market or leave full time employment for part time employment. As a result, many adult daughters have no alternative but to provide unpaid elder care due to such influential ideologies. Baber and Allen (1992) theorize that although more women are moving into elite or high social status employment positions and sharing positions of dominance in the social structure, they still provide care for others in need. Neither professional nor nonprofessional women are exempt from gendered caregiving roles. They often add the paid work role to their family roles and generate the energy necessary to fulfill the commitments of these two particular roles. Many women allocate effort away from the workplace in order to continue to meet family demands (Bielby & Bielby, 1988). Amongst adult daughters, differences in elder care provision on the basis of employment status or occupation are therefore not presumed to exist. Because adult daughters do not have access to role justifications with which to negotiate unpaid informal elder care they are seen as being unable to resolve potential work-family role conflict experienced.

Individual Resources of Adult Children

Resources also relate to elder care role negotiation and the resolution of role conflict. As defined here, they are the means with which to negotiate elder care. Theorists have discussed how resources function in relation to the parental caregiving roles of adult children (Knipscheer et al., 1987). Personal income and education are two examples of resources. They determine the power dynamics within the family and may affect the division of unpaid elder care labor (Finley, 1989; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995).

Expectations and Alternatives

Roles are influenced by the willingness of a role- incumbent to fulfill expected roles (Knipscheer et al., 1987). Income and education are believed to decrease consensus or alter traditional social roles of individuals (Thoits, 1987). Due to altered roles, women with more education feel less filial responsibility (Spitze & Logan, 1991a). They are thought to be less willing to invest their time in unpaid caregiving (Moen, Robison, & Fields, 1994).

Income is believed to buy freedom from structural constraints or obligations (Thoits, 1987) as well as decrease role conflict and the burden of caregiving (Neal et al., 1993). For instance, daughters with high incomes can hire others to perform elder care tasks. Such daughters can therefore pursue more economically and socially rewarding activities (Baber & Allen, 1992; Stoller, 1993). It has been found that those who earn more tend to purchase more services (Kane & Penrod, 1995). The purchase of private care offers an alternative to spending time and energy to provide direct care. In contrast, women who earn a small wage outside the home are expected to give up their unprofitable work to provide direct care (Noddings, 1994). They may have no alternative but to provide demanding or burdensome parental care.

Elder care role negotiation in relation to resources is not seen as being gendered. Gender similarities between female and male family members are presumed to exist in the negotiation of elder care in relation to resources. Both adult daughters and sons who possess education and income as resources will be similarly able to negotiate elder care. Finley et al. (1988) found similarities between adult daughters and sons in the relationships between education and filial obligations toward aging parents.

Not all individuals who engage in the negotiation of caring begin from a position of equality (Finch, 1987; Stoller, 1993; Tronto, 1993). Tronto (1993) argues that caring is constituted socially. It is the unpaid work of the least privileged individuals. There are gendered resource inequalities. Studies of private and public sector Canadian employees indicate that males are significantly more likely to have higher personal incomes and more formal education than

females (Duxbury et al., 1991; Higgins et al., 1992). Adult sons, because they often have more resources (higher income *and* more education), are more likely to have the opportunity to negotiate care in comparison to adult daughters.

Summary of Model

In summary, multiple social roles of adult children represent competing expectations in the lives of female and male adult child caregivers. Role conflict resulting from roles may constrain the provision of unpaid informal elder care. Spousal, parenting, and employment/occupational roles are recognized as potential role justifications or excuses for not providing socially expected parental care. Due to differential gender ideologies, male family members are presumed to possess legitimate role justifications with which to negotiate unpaid elder care. In contrast, women do not have access to legitimate justifications and are expected to fulfill concurrent multiple roles (spouse, parent, employee, adult child) despite potential role conflict experienced.

Individual resources such as personal income and education also relate to elder care role negotiation. They may function to relieve adult children of unpaid parental care by providing access to alternatives to informal elder care provision. It is acknowledged that adult daughters are often less likely to possess resources such as income or education than their male siblings and therefore must provide potentially burdensome care.

On the basis of the theoretical framework utilized in this chapter, the question addressed in this thesis is: How do social roles and individual resources of adult daughters and sons relate to unpaid elder care by female and male adult children to elderly parents?

CHAPTER 3

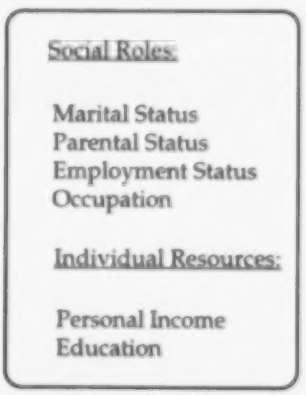
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, social roles and individual resources of adult child caregivers will be examined in regard to their relationships to unpaid informal elder care provision (see Figure 1). The chapter includes information on what is known about how roles and resources relate to parental caregiving behaviors. The provision of individual elder care tasks such as housework maintenance, or personal care are seen as constituting involvement in unpaid elder care, as is consistent with the research literature.

The first part of the chapter includes a review of elder care tasks that are differentially provided by adult children on the basis of their gender. The last part of the chapter includes research hypotheses pertaining to social roles, individual resources and elder care.

Figure 1

Social Roles and Individual Resources
of Adult Child Caregivers



Adult Children and Gendered Parental Care

Numerous studies have shown that adult daughters provide larger amounts and more diverse kinds of assistance to older parents than do sons. Daughters are the ones most likely to meet the needs of the elderly (Qureshi & Walker, 1989). They provide help with both activities of daily living (ADL) and instrumental activities of daily living (IADL), including housework, personal care, transportation and other behaviors (Dwyer & Coward, 1991; Dwyer, Henretta, Coward, & Barton, 1992; Kaden & McDaniel, 1990; Lee, Dwyer, & Coward, 1993; Qureshi & Walker, 1989; Spitze & Logan, 1990a; Stoller, Forster, & Duniho, 1992). Daughters of the elderly provide routine, hands on personal care, daily assistance, domestic activities, and emotional support over long periods of time (Dwyer et al., 1992). They spend more time than sons in daily homemaking and personal care tasks (Crawford, Bond & Balshaw, 1994; Dwyer & Seccombe, 1991; Lewis & Meredith, 1988; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989; Stoller, 1990; Witt, 1994).

While adult daughters continue to be primary caregivers for the majority of care, many adult sons in families are now assuming elder caregiving responsibilities (Dwyer & Coward, 1991; Dwyer & Seccombe, 1991; Keith, 1995; Stoller, 1990). However, the contributions of sons and other male helpers are more limited in terms of time, range of tasks, and intensity (Crawford et al., 1994; Horowitz, 1985; Matthews, 1995; Stern, 1996, Stoller et al., 1992; Witt, 1994). Sons help with transportation, financial assistance, and house repairs (Dwyer & Coward, 1991; Kaden & McDaniel, 1990; Matthews, 1995; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989; Stoller, 1990). These are tasks traditionally linked with men in families.

Social Roles of Adult Children in Relation to Unpaid Elder Care

Competing responsibilities, commitments, and obligations of adult children resulting from their myriad social roles, including, marriage, parenthood, employment, and occupation, relate to informal elder care. Research findings are reported in the following sections of the literature review.

Marital Status

Based upon theoretical assumptions of daughters not possessing legitimate role justifications with which to negotiate care, no relationship between marital status and elder care is expected amongst adult daughters. In contrast, a relationship between marital status and elder care is expected amongst adult sons. Fewer adult sons who are married are expected to provide parental care than unmarried adult sons.

Many researchers have provided considerable support for the hypothesis that marital status is not related to elder care amongst adult daughters (Brody, 1985; 1990; Crawford et al., 1994; Kendig, 1986; Lewis & Meredith, 1988; Spitze & Logan, 1991a; Ungerson, 1987; Witt, 1994). Among men, married sons provide less care than unmarried sons (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Starrels, Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal, & Yamada, 1995). Married men are often exempt from direct care responsibilities such as housework, financial assistance, maintenance, personal care, emotional support, and transportation (Soldo & Hill, 1993).

Contradictory results have been shown by other researchers that are not in agreement with the proposed hypothesis. Marriage has been conceptualized as a role constraint. It has been found that unmarried adult children have the highest probability of providing parent care (Soldo and Hill, 1993). It is unclear whether these findings are true for both males and females. Married daughters provide fewer hours of parental assistance than separated/ divorced, widowed, and never married women (Brody, Litvin, Albert, & Hoffman, 1994). The latter study focused on amount of care provided instead of measuring the presence or absence of

any care. It may be the case that marital status only relates to care when the level of care provided is measured.

In a longitudinal survey Dwyer et al. (1992) were interested in understanding the relationship between marital status and the hierarchy of caregivers in families. It was found that when a child remains unmarried, he/she is more likely to provide ADL tasks (Dwyer et al., 1992). Adult children were not interviewed. Instead, elderly persons were interviewed about the helping behavior of their adult children. It is unclear whether the findings are true of both adult sons and daughters. Analyses by gender were not conducted.

On the basis of the above reviewed literature, the relationship between marital status and unpaid elder care often differs according to the gender of the adult child. Support is given to the assumption that adult daughters are unable to use their marital status as a legitimate role justification. In contrast, men appear able to use marriage as a legitimate excuse for not providing unpaid care to a dependent elderly parent.

Some contrasting evidence exists within the literature. The measurement of elder care and marital status across studies differs therefore potentially contributing to discrepant results. Some researchers have studied unmarried marital status groups separately (single, divorced, widowed) while other researchers have combined unmarried groups together in the analysis. Some researchers have not conducted analyses by gender. This makes it difficult to make comparisons across studies. Individual types of elder care behaviors have often not been analyzed separately. Instead, behaviors have been combined to create a composite or global measure of elder care. This is limiting in that it is not known whether the relationship between marital status and elder care is the same for various types of care tasks.

Parental Status

Most men and women in their middle years have children in the household. In fact, about 80% of men and women aged 40 to 44 have a child in the household (Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1993). A work and elder care research group found that 26% of Canadian employees

combine child care with elder care responsibilities (CARNET, 1993). Theoretically, no relationship between elder care and parental status is expected for either adult daughter or son caregivers. It is thought that women are not permitted to use parenting as a legitimate role justification, whereas most men in families are not thought to be faced with child care responsibilities to such an extent that they would act as a role constraint.

Presence of children (preschool and school aged) has not been found to relate to unpaid elder care, including, ADL and IADL provided by female or male adult children (Boaz & Muller, 1992; Crawford et al., 1994; Furstenberg Jr., Hoffman, & Shrestha, 1995; Spitze & Logan, 1991a; White & Peterson, 1995). Presence of children in the household has not been found to diminish the assistance/care adult daughters provide to a parent (Lewis & Meredith, 1988; Ungerson, 1987; Witt, 1994). Ungerson (1987) reported on the basis of her study that for women, the initiation of caring for an elderly dependent parent coincided with the care of both preschool *and* school aged children.

From the above reviewed literature it is apparent that a similar relationship exists between parental status and unpaid elder care for both adult daughters and sons. Much support is given to the proposed hypotheses. The findings lend support to the conceptual argument that women encounter competing commitments between child and elder care roles but cannot use their parenting role as a legitimate justification for not providing expected elder care.

The fact that parental status has not been shown in research to be related to elder care amongst adult sons may be interpreted to mean that child care responsibilities do not pose a role constraint due to men's demonstrated lesser involvement in parenting. Fathers continue to assume a less active role in child care compared to mothers (McDaniel, 1994; Stone & Lero, 1994). Presence of young children in the household has not been shown to contribute to feelings of time stress among men (Frederick, 1993).

Some researchers have not distinguished between ages of children (preschool, school aged) but have instead only measured presence or absence of any children in the household. Various types of elder care behaviors have often not been analyzed separately in relation to

parental status. Instead, individual tasks have been combined to create a composite or global measure of elder care. This is limiting in that it is not known whether the relationship between parental status and elder care is the same for various types of care tasks.

Employment Status

The increase of elderly persons in Canada means that a growing number of Canadian employees will have major care responsibilities for their parents (National Advisory Council on Aging, 1995). Forty six percent of Canadian employees report involvement in elder care (CARNET, 1993). Researchers have examined the employment status of adult children as it relates to unpaid elder care provision. Theoretically, no relationship between employment status and elder care is expected amongst adult daughters. In contrast, a relationship between employment status and elder care is expected amongst adult sons in families. Employed males are expected to be less likely to provide care than their unemployed male counterparts.

There is much support for the above hypotheses. For adult daughters, employment does not diminish the likelihood of providing parental care (Abel, 1991; Brody & Schoonover, 1986; Crawford et al., 1994; Lewis & Meredith, 1988; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Matthews, Werkner & Delaney, 1989; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989; Qureshi & Simons, 1987; Spitze & Logan, 1991a; Witt, 1994).

Other researchers indicate in opposition that adult daughters who are not employed are more involved in caregiving activities than employed adult daughter caregivers (Barnes, Given, & Given, 1995; Gerstel & Gallagher, 1994; Spitze, Logan, Deane, & Zerger, 1994; Tirrito & Nathanson, 1994). Employment has been viewed as a role constraint. It is assumed that unemployed daughters have more time in which to provide a greater amount of parental care. Those adult daughters who work outside the home may not be able to provide care as frequently as those daughters who are not employed.

Employment has been viewed as a role constraint for men. For many males, commitments of paid work absolve them of parental care responsibilities (Aronson, 1992; Finch & Mason,

1993; Gerstel & Gallagher, 1994; Keith, 1995; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). There is opposing evidence that unemployed sons are less likely to provide assistance than employed sons (Qureshi & Simons, 1987; Qureshi & Walker, 1989). Other investigators have found no effect of the employment status of adult sons and the provision of care to a parent (Crawford et al., 1994; Spitze et al., 1994; Spitze & Logan, 1991a).

The employment of an adult child has a differential effect on parental care depending on whether they are male or female (Dwyer & Coward, 1991). Employed women are more likely than their employed male counterparts to assist elderly relatives with meal preparation, housework, grocery shopping, and personal care. In contrast, employed males are more likely than employed females to provide financial assistance, help with yard work, and home maintenance (McKinnon & Odynak, 1991). Finley (1989) also indicated that differential parental care behaviors of adult daughters and sons persist in spite of employment status. Daughters are significantly more likely than sons to provide activities of daily living even when employment status is controlled.

Employment status often relates to parental care differently, depending upon the gender of the adult child. Many researchers have demonstrated that the employment status of adult daughters does not relate to the provision of care. It appears that females are unable to use employment as a basis of elder care role negotiation. In regards to males, there is evidence that employment negatively relates to care provided. Findings lend some support to the conceptual argument that adult sons can use their employee role as a legitimate justification. There has been insufficient research specifically examining the employment status of adult sons in relation to care.

Various types of elder care behaviors have often not been analyzed separately in relation to employment. Instead, individual tasks have often been combined to create a composite or global measure of elder care. This is a limitation. Some contradictory findings exist in the literature on employment and elder care provision. As an explanation for discrepancies, employment has been measured differently across studies. Some researchers

have measured total hours of employment, others have compared part and full time workers, while others have compared the employed to the unemployed.

Occupation

Theoretically, no relationship between occupation and informal elder care is expected amongst adult daughters. In contrast, a relationship between occupation and care provision is expected amongst adult sons. Due to the presumed greater work role demands of professional persons and men's ability to utilize their occupation as a justification, fewer adult sons employed in higher social status (professional) occupations are expected to provide elder care than those adult sons employed in lower status (nonprofessional) occupations.

Gerstel and Gallagher (1994) found occupation to have no significant relationship to hours of care provided to parents. Gender was not used as a control variable. The findings may be true for daughters but not for sons. Despite the fact that women in higher status occupations experience more work interference with family than women in lower status occupations (Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1994), researchers have found that occupation does not make a difference in the level of social support or care provided by adult daughter caregivers (Abel, 1991; Kendig, 1986; Starrels et al., 1995). Martin Matthews and Rosenthal (1994) found women in professional and managerial occupations to be as likely as women in other occupations to provide a certain number of hours of help to an elderly relative per week.

Other findings do not support the predicted hypothesis. Among females, a positive relationship between occupational status and elder caregiving has been found by other researchers. McKinnon and Odynak (1991) found women in managerial and administrative positions to report elder care involvements at a significantly higher rate than other occupational groups. Female managers and administrators were most likely to say that they were currently providing some type of assistance to an elderly relative. Age was not used as a control variable. The study sample was not restricted to adult daughters. This is a limitation.

For men, those in managerial and professional positions are underrepresented amongst employees providing elder care (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). Semi-skilled and unskilled men are more likely to become elder care providers than are other men (Arber & Ginn, 1992). As an interpretation for the findings, individuals employed in careers have been shown to face more work role demands and commitments that would interfere with care provision than those employed in other occupations. Career men report more work interference with family than do men in lower status occupations (Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1994). Other researchers report that adult sons in professional, administrative, managerial or technical occupations are more likely to provide support to elders than adult sons in other occupations (Kendig, 1986; Starrels et al., 1995). A limitation of the study conducted by Starrels et al. (1995) is that their sample consisted disproportionally of middle-class professional adult child caregivers. The sample also consisted only of employees providing care, rather than all employees whose parents need care.

Executive, professional and technical workers provide fewer hours of elder care than employees in non professional occupations (Mutschler, 1994). In a study examining the process of caretaker selection in families, it was found that if two adult children are employed, the one with the most marginal position in the labor force becomes the caretaker (Ikels, 1983). Successful children in professional and business occupations provide less help to their parents than other siblings (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). It is not known whether the findings equally apply to both male and female adult children in families.

Support is given to the hypothesis that occupation does not relate to elder care amongst adult daughters. The argument that daughters cannot use their occupation as a legitimate excuse for not providing care to an elderly parent is supported. Even when women are employed in careers as opposed to jobs, they are not "permitted" to place paid work ahead of unpaid family demands. For men, support is given to the hypothesis that occupation is related to elder care. Men in professional occupations or careers appear able to utilize their occupational status as a justification.

Overall, relatively insufficient attention has been paid to the ways in which employees in different types of jobs respond to dual responsibilities toward employers and elders who require their assistance (Mutschler, 1994). This is particularly true for employees who are caregivers of older parents. Many researchers have not restricted their analyses to adult children but have instead only used gender (male / female) as a criterion. Further study on adult children respondents is therefore needed.

Individual Resources of Adult Children in Relation to Unpaid Elder Care

Personal income and education are individual resources that are expected to relate to the provision of informal unpaid elder care on the part of male and female adult children. Research evidence concerning such relationships is presented in the following sections of the literature review.

Personal Income

A negative relationship between personal income and unpaid elder care provision is expected. Fewer adult sons and daughters with higher personal incomes are expected to provide care for an older parent in comparison to those adult children with lower personal incomes. Those with higher incomes are presumed to possess alternatives to direct care provision.

There is some support for the hypothesis. Low income children give the most extensive help to older parents, including help with home care, monetary assistance, and comfort (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Furstenberg et al. (1995) found income of an adult child to be negatively related to help. Help referred to either help in an emergency or with everyday activities such as housework, repairs, or other tasks. If two adult children are employed, the one with the least well-paying job becomes the caretaker (Ikels, 1983). Those individuals earning lower incomes take more days of unpaid leave from work to provide elder care (Mutschler, 1994).

Income has been viewed as a resource. Caregivers who are relatively well-off in terms of income are able to purchase private care for their parents rather than provide such care directly themselves (Archbold, 1983). In contrast, adult children with lower incomes do not have a means with which to negotiate elder care, such as choosing to hire private formal home care services to substitute for direct informal elder care provision. Lack of financial resources has been cited by women as a factor in their direct provision of care to ailing mothers (Guberman, Maheu & Maille, 1992). Other researchers have found no significant relationship between income of adult children and hours of care provided to elderly parents (Gerstel & Gallagher, 1994; Spitze & Logan, 1991b).

Amongst adult daughters, a negative relationship between income level and provision of various parental care tasks, such as, transportation, emotional support, and personal care has been found (Starrels et al., 1995). In contrast, Tirrito and Nathanson (1994) and Witt (1994) did not find a significant relationship between filial care and income level of adult daughters. It is unknown whether personal or household income of respondents was measured by the researchers. As conceptualized here, only personal income is considered an individual level resource of adult daughters (and sons). Tirrito and Nathanson's (1994) study was restricted to daughters in a nuclear or extended family structure. This may limit the generalizability of results. No significant relationships between income level of adult sons and the provision of any elder care tasks have been found (Starrels et al., 1995). The researchers studied the impact of income on the amount of care provided by employed adult sons to a parent.

In summary, findings are in accordance with the conceptual argument that adult children (male and female) with resources possess a means of elder care role negotiation. Some discrepancies are found. It is unclear whether personal or household income is measured by researchers. Measurement is therefore a potential reason for discrepancies. Some researchers have not performed analyses by gender. This is a limitation. Further research is needed in which both adult son and daughter respondents are included in the sample, but are analyzed separately in relation to income.

Education

Educational attainment is also of importance in understanding elder care. A negative relationship between education and care provision is expected for female and male adult children. Those adult children with advanced education are presumed to possess a means with which to negotiate the elder care role.

There is support for the hypothesis. Women with lower levels of education (less than post secondary) are more likely to assume responsibility for care than women with post secondary or advanced levels of education (Archbold, 1983; Moen et al., 1994; Robison, Moen, & Dempster-McClain, 1995). Well-educated adult daughters may feel less obliged to provide care due to less traditional parental caregiving roles. In contrast, Witt (1994) found a positive relationship between education and provision of traditional female parent care tasks, whereas she found no significant relationship between education and the provision of nontraditional female parent care tasks. Caregiving behaviors, included, personal care, housework, transportation, and financial support. Other researchers report that the education of daughters is not statistically associated with help or care given to elderly parents (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Spitze & Logan, 1991a).

Amongst male family members, the relationship between education and elder caregiving has been shown to be non linear. Males with the lowest levels of education (less than high school graduation) and those with university post graduate education are over represented amongst those providing elder care (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). This relationship was only found to be true for the provision of personal care. Rossi and Rossi (1990) reported a negative relationship between the education of sons and the help given to fathers, but a positive relationship between the education of sons and the help given to mothers. Partial support for the hypothesis is therefore found. Other researchers have found no significant relationship between education of adult sons and amount of care given to an elderly parent (Spitze & Logan, 1991a).

Overall, insufficient research has been conducted examining how education relates to care provision on the part of adult children. Many researchers who have analyzed education indicate that fewer adult children with higher levels of education provide care for elderly parents than those adult children with lesser education. These findings lend support to the theoretical assumption that advanced education functions as a means for negotiating elder care.

It is apparent on the basis of the above review that some inconsistent research evidence exists regarding the relationship of education and unpaid parental caregiving. The measurement of education and elder care tend to differ across studies. It is difficult to make study comparisons when measures differ. As a limitation, individual types of elder care tasks have often not been analyzed separately. Instead, behaviors have been combined to create a composite or global measure of elder care.

Research Hypotheses Pertaining to Social Roles, Individual Resources and Unpaid Elder Care

Based upon assumptions of the conceptual framework and a review of the literature, the following hypotheses are proposed as they relate to the relationships between social roles, individual resources, and unpaid elder care provision on the part of male and female adult children. Unpaid care includes housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support. These behaviors are representative of ones included within the research literature. They are reflective of both ADL and IADL tasks.

The first hypothesis is based on the conceptual argument that females do not possess legitimate role justifications with which to negotiate unpaid elder care. They are presumed to be unable to use their marital, parenting, employee, or occupational roles as legitimate social roles to abdicate parental caregiving behaviors. As conceptualized here, women in families are expected to fulfill simultaneous multiple responsibilities and commitments regardless of role conflict experienced.

Hypothesis #1: Among adult daughters, marital, parental, and employment status, along with occupation will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

The second hypothesis is based on the conceptual argument that males do possess legitimate role justifications with which to negotiate unpaid elder care. They are presumed to be able to use their marital, employee, or occupational roles as legitimate social roles to abdicate parental care.

Hypothesis #2: Among adult sons, a smaller proportion of those who are married or cohabitating, employed, or in professional occupations will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than unmarried men, men in lower status occupations, or men who are unemployed.

The third hypothesis pertains to the argument that most men are still largely not expected to provide child care in families. Therefore, child care responsibilities to preschool or school-aged children would not constitute a competing role commitment that would interfere or constrain the provision of unpaid elder care.

Hypothesis #3: Among adult sons, parental status will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

Due to gender- based role justifications of adult daughters and sons the relationship between elder care provision and role status is presumed to differ for men and women. Due to societal ideologies, males are able to use social roles as legitimate justifications, whereas females are unable to use roles as legitimate justifications.

Hypothesis #4: The relationships between marital status, employment status, occupation, and provision of unpaid care will differ for men and women.

The relationship between unpaid elder care and parental status is not presumed to differ for men and women. Due to men's lesser parenting role, child care responsibilities do not constitute a competing role commitment that would interfere or constrain the provision of unpaid elder care. For females, they are unable to use parenting as a legitimate role justification.

Hypothesis #5: The relationship between parental status and provision of unpaid care will not differ for men and women.

The sixth hypothesis pertains to the assumption that individual resources of personal income and education may function to relieve adult children (both male and female) of unpaid elder care role responsibilities. Resources constitute a means of elder care role negotiation.

Hypothesis #6: Among adult daughters and sons, a smaller proportion of those with greater personal incomes and education will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than adult children with lower incomes and less education.

The seventh hypothesis pertains to the assumption that men and women who possess equivalent individual resources are able to similarly negotiate the elder care role.

Hypothesis #7: The relationships between personal income, education, and unpaid elder care provision will not differ for men and women.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Source of Data

The 1990 Statistics Canada *General Social Survey (GSS) Cycle 5 on Family and Friends* was used as the source of data for this research study. The yearly survey conducted by Statistics Canada examines specific socio-economic trends and current or emerging issues. Two principle objectives of the survey are: (a) to gather data on social trends in order to monitor changes in Canadian society over time; (b) to provide information on specific policy issues of current or emerging interest. The core content for the fifth cycle of the GSS was targeted at exchanges of unpaid support between family and friends (Statistics Canada, 1992). Respondents to the 1990 GSS were questioned about a range of topics, including, aspects of respondents' relationships with parents; household help given and received by persons not living in the household (Statistics Canada, 1992).

Sampling and Data Collection

The 1990 GSS used a stratified sampling design. In order to carry out sampling, each of the ten provinces of Canada was divided into geographic areas. Generally, for each province, one stratum represented the Census Metropolitan areas of the province and the other the non-CMA areas. Elderly Canadians (aged 65+), residents of Ontario (aged 15-64), and elderly residents of Ontario were over-sampled in the survey. It did not include residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories or full-time residents of institutions (Statistics Canada, 1992).

Random digit dialing sampling techniques were utilized. The survey targeted all persons aged 15 and over living in the ten provinces of Canada. Interviewers enumerated by telephone all members of Canadian households contacted and then randomly selected one member aged 15 or older to be interviewed by telephone. Structured questionnaires were used to

obtain data. No proxy responses to the questionnaire were accepted. Households without telephones were excluded from the survey. These households account for less than 2% of the total Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 1992).

Questionnaires and procedures were field tested in a pretest involving approximately 800 Canadian households in August 1989. Data collection for the survey took place in 1990. Survey records were examined to identify and correct invalid or inconsistent information on the questionnaires. Sample size was 18,325; 13,495 interviews were completed. The overall response rate for the survey was 76% (Statistics Canada, 1992). The sample is considered representative of the Canadian population.

Present Research Study

For this study, a sub-sample was selected that included all respondents to the 1990 GSS with at least one living parent aged 65 or older. This was done to focus on informal unpaid care or support provided by adult sons and daughters to elderly parents. The sub-sample size consisted of 3,505 male and female respondents in Canada.

Measures

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Dependent Variables

Elder care, as conceptualized here, refers to various individual care tasks, including, housework, maintenance, transportation, personal care, and financial support. (See Appendix A for 1990 Statistics Canada GSS questionnaire items on unpaid care tasks.) There are five dependent variables in this study that measure elder care:

1. Provision of *Unpaid Housework* to a parent living outside the household (1990 GSS variable: DVF9PAR). Cooking, sewing, and cleaning are examples of housework tasks.

2. Provision of *Unpaid Maintenance* to a parent living outside the household (1990 GSS variable: DVF13PAR). This includes household and outdoor maintenance. Repairs, painting, carpentry, lawn mowing and shoveling snow are examples of maintenance tasks.

3. Provision of *Unpaid Transportation* to a parent living outside the household (1990 GSS variable: DVF17PAR). Driving a parent to an appointment and shopping are examples of transportation tasks.

4. Provision of *Unpaid Personal Care* to a parent living outside the household (1990 GSS variable: DVF23PAR). Bathing and dressing are examples of personal care tasks.

5. Provision of *Financial Support* to a parent living outside the household (1990 GSS variable: DVF25PAR). This type of care includes the provision of monetary assistance.

Operationally, each dependent variable was measured as a dichotomous variable in this study, specifically, whether any care was provided to at least one elderly parent prior to the 12 months of the survey: *no care given;care given* . Each task in the 1990 GSS was recoded due to a small proportion of respondents providing any care. Care or help provided by male and female respondents either less than once a month, at least once a month, or at least once a week were recoded into the category "care given".

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Independent Variables

Variables Measuring Social Roles of Respondents

There are four independent variables in this study that measure social roles:

1. *Marital Status* (1990 GSS variable: DVCURMS4). This variable was recoded as married/cohabitating or unmarried. The GSS categories: divorced, separated, widowed, and single were combined into the category unmarried. The common law category was recoded into the category married/cohabitating. Theoretically, this measurement is based upon whether an adult child has a competing spousal role commitment.

2. *Parental Status* (1990 GSS variable: CHILDAGE). Ages of children in the household was used to measure parental status. It was recoded as no children less than 19; at least one child less than five; all children between the ages of five and 18. Theoretically, this measurement is based upon whether a respondent has child care responsibilities to preschool or school aged children. Responsibilities to both age groups of children are seen as constituting a social role commitment.

3. *Employment Status* (1990 GSS variable: L26). The variable employment status was recoded as employed or unemployed. The employed category includes respondents working at a job or business. The 1990 GSS categories: looking for work, studying, keeping house, being retired, being disabled, and other were recoded into the category unemployed. Theoretically, this measurement is based upon whether an adult child has employment or paid work as a competing social role commitment.

4. *Occupation* (1990 GSS variable: DVSOC). This variable was recoded as managerial, administrative, professional occupation versus other occupation. The following occupational codes are considered managerial, administrative, or professional occupations: managers or administrators; management or admin or related; life sciences or maths or computers; architects or engineers or related; social science or religion etc. ; teaching or related; health occupations or related; artistic or literary or recreational. All of the remaining occupations listed in the GSS are treated as being non managerial or administrative or professional. This classification is

comparable to previous research studies that have examined occupation or occupational status in relation to caregiving. Theoretically, this measurement is based upon whether an adult child has a higher status occupation that may constitute a competing social role demand /commitment.

Variables Measuring Individual Resources of Respondents

There are two independent variables in this study that measure individual resources:

1. *Personal Income* (1990 GSS variable: DVL47). The respondents' total personal income for the year 1989 was recoded as $0 thru $21,000; $22,000 thru $42,000; $43,000 and above. Income in the 1990 GSS was capped at $80,000. Previous researchers have used similar categories. Theoretically, this measurement is based upon whether an adult child has higher income as a means for elder care role negotiation. Those persons in higher income groups are thought to possess greater negotiating power than those persons in lower income groups.

2. *Education* (1990 GSS variable: DVEDUCR1). This variable pertains to the respondents' highest level of education attained. Education was recoded as non post secondary graduation or post secondary graduation. These categories have been utilized by previous researchers using education as a variable. Post secondary graduation includes those respondents who graduated with a masters or earned doctorate; bachelor/undergrad degree; diploma from college or trade school. All of the remaining educational categories were recoded as part of the category non post secondary graduation. Conceptually, those adult children with higher levels of education are thought to possess greater negotiating power than those adult children with lower levels of education.

Data Analysis

Statistical Methods

Data on each of the independent and dependent variables were first analyzed using univariate statistics in order to describe the sample. Frequencies and percentages were calculated for marital status, parental status, employment status, occupation, and education of male and female respondents. Descriptive statistics were calculated for personal income of respondents. Frequencies, percentages, and descriptive statistics were reported by gender of respondent in order to understand the roles occupied and resources possessed of men and women separately.

Each dependent variable was highly skewed, making multivariate techniques inappropriate. Cross-tabulations were therefore performed between categorical variables in the sample in order to examine associations or relationships between variables (Hedderson & Fisher, 1993; Norusis, 1990). Percentages were expressed in the cross tabulations.

Cross-tabs were run by gender (separately for males and females) for each elder care behavior/task in order to indicate the respective percentages of male and female respondents who provided unpaid housework, maintenance, transportation, personal care, and financial support to at least one elderly parent in the 12 months prior to the social survey. Cross-tabulations were also performed between each independent variable and each of the dependent variables in order to analyze associations. Specifically, housework, maintenance, transportation, personal care, and financial support were each cross-tabulated with the following independent variables: marital status, parental status, employment status, occupation, personal income, and education. Separate analyses were conducted by gender of respondent in order to make statistical comparisons amongst each gender group. Comparisons between males and females were also made in regards to the relationships between social roles,

individual resources, and unpaid elder care. No statistical tests were conducted to make between gender group comparisons.

Pearson Chi-square statistics were computed for each cross-tabulation that was run. The statistic is used to determine whether observed proportions differ significantly from theoretically expected proportions (Ary, Jacobs, & Razavieh, 1990; Glass & Hopkins, 1984). The Chi-square test is appropriate for categorical variables and for large sample sizes. The test is based on a comparison between observed frequencies in the cells of a cross-tabulation table and those that one would expect to observe if the null hypothesis of independence were true (Agresti & Finlay, 1986). The statistic indicates how certain one can be that the variables are related, not how strong that relationship is. The larger the Chi-square statistic, the more evidence there is against the null hypothesis of independence (Agresti & Finlay, 1986).

Statistical assumptions of the Chi-square test are that observations must be independent; respondents must be randomly and independently selected; categories are mutually exclusive; each observation can appear in only one of the categories in the table; the observations are measured as frequencies (Ary et al., 1990). In terms of sample size, an assumption of the Chi-square test of independence is that, for two by two tables, the expected cell frequency be at least five in each cell. For larger tables, the expected cell frequency should be at least five in most (75%) of the cells, and greater than one in all cells (Agresti & Finlay, 1986).

Statistics Canada (1992) recommends that observed or actual cell frequencies be 25 or more. Confidentiality of respondent data and reliability of research findings are reasons for such guidelines. In this study, observed frequencies less than 20 ($n<20$) will not be released due to the lack of confidence in reporting and discussing such results, and in order to protect respondent confidentiality. Due to small cell sizes the decision was made to use cell frequencies of at least 20.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Sample Description

Respondent Characteristics

Out of a total of 3,505 adult child survey respondents in the sample, 46% were male, and 54% were female. The majority of male and female respondents were married or cohabitating, had no children less than 19 in the household, and were employed. The majority were also employed in nonprofessional occupations, and were non post secondary education graduates. (See Tables 5-1 and 5-2 for frequencies, percentages, and descriptive statistics of social roles and individual resources of male and female respondents.)

Among male and female respondents in the sample, 89% had a mother still living; 57% had a father still living. It is not known how many adult children had both parents still living. The mean age of mothers was 72, while the mean age of fathers was 73. The age range for mothers was between 38 and 90, while the age range for fathers was between 56 and 90.

Gendered Unpaid Elder Care Provision in Canada

In order to document the gendered nature of unpaid elder care provision, gender comparisons were made of adult daughters and sons. Results indicate that significantly more females than males provided unpaid help with housework and transportation, whereas significantly more males than females provided help with maintenance (see Table 5-3). Small numbers of males provided personal care, making gender comparisons impossible. No significant relationship was found for financial support.

Unpaid Elder Care Provision in Relation to Roles and Resources

Social Roles of Adult Children

Marital Status

Regarding the relationships between marital status and elder care provision by adult sons and daughters, the following specific operational hypotheses were tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-4).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, marital status will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

Findings on the relationship between marital status and elder care provision among female respondents support the first hypothesis. No differences between married/cohabitating and unmarried females were found for housework, maintenance, transportation, or financial support.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, a smaller proportion of those who are married/cohabitating will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than unmarried males.

Among males, no significant relationships by marital status were found. The second hypothesis was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between marital status and unpaid elder care will differ for men and women.

The third hypothesis received some support. For maintenance and transportation, differences between males and females appear to exist in the relationship between marital status and elder care provision. Small cell sizes do not allow for other gender comparisons.

Parental Status

Regarding the relationships between ages of children in the household and elder care provision by adult sons and daughters, the following specific operational hypotheses were

tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-5).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, ages of children in the household will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

The first hypothesis was supported. Among females, ages of children in the household was not related to the provision of housework, maintenance, or transportation.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, ages of children in the household will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

The second hypothesis was supported. No statistically significant relationships were found by child age among males in the sample.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between parental status and unpaid elder care will not differ for men and women.

For transportation and maintenance, no differences between males and females appear to exist in regards to the relationship between parental status and elder care provision. Small cell sizes do not allow for other gender comparisons.

Employment Status

Regarding the relationships between employment status and elder care provision by adult sons and daughters, the following specific operational hypotheses were tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-6).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, employment status will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

Significant relationships between employment status and the provision of help with maintenance and transportation were found. A greater proportion of employed females than unemployed females provided maintenance and transportation for an elderly parent. No other significant relationships were found. The first hypothesis was therefore supported in part.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, a smaller proportion of those employed will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than unemployed males.

Small observed numbers of unemployed males who provided elder care do not allow for testing of this hypothesis.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between employment status and unpaid elder care will differ for men and women.

The third hypothesis could not be tested due to small proportions of unemployed males providing care.

Occupation

Regarding the relationships between occupation and elder care provision by adult daughters and sons, the following specific operational hypotheses were tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-7).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, occupation will not be related to the provision of unpaid care for an elderly parent.

No statistically significant relationships were found between occupation and elder care among female respondents. The first hypothesis was therefore supported.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, a smaller proportion of those in managerial / administrative / professional occupations will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than males in other occupations.

No significant relationships were found. The second hypothesis was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between occupation and unpaid elder care will differ for men and women.

This hypothesis was not supported. For maintenance and transportation, no differences between males and females appear to exist in the relationship between occupation and elder care. Other gender comparisons could not be made due to small cell sizes.

Individual Resources of Adult Children

Personal Income

Regarding the relationships between personal income and elder care provision by adult daughters and sons, the following specific operational hypotheses were tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-8).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, a smaller proportion of those with higher personal incomes will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than females with lower personal incomes.

The first hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, a smaller proportion of those with higher personal incomes will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than males with lower personal incomes.

The second hypothesis was not supported. No significant relationships were found on the basis of income level.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between personal income and unpaid elder care will not differ for men and women.

For maintenance and transportation, no differences between males and females appear to exist in the relationship between income and elder care.

Education

Regarding the relationships between education and elder care provision by adult daughters and sons, the following specific operational hypotheses were tested. Unpaid care includes the provision of housework, maintenance, personal care, transportation, and financial support (see Table 5-9).

Hypothesis #1: Among females, a smaller proportion of those who are post secondary education graduates will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than females who are non post secondary education graduates.

The first hypothesis was not supported. No significant relationships were found between educational attainment and elder care provision.

Hypothesis #2: Among males, a smaller proportion of those who are post secondary education graduates will provide unpaid care for an elderly parent than males who are non post secondary education graduates.

No significant relationships between education and provision of any elder care tasks were found. The second hypothesis was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis #3: The relationship between education and unpaid elder care will not differ for men and women.

For maintenance and education, no differences between males and females appear to exist.

Limitations of Research Study

A key limitation of this secondary analysis pertains to the relatively small proportions of adult sons and daughters who provided any unpaid elder care 12 months prior to the social survey. It is acknowledged by some researchers that, at any given time, a small percentage of men or women are providing parent care (Spitze & Logan, 1990a). For many tasks studied in relation to roles and resources, frequencies and percentages could not be reported due to small cell sizes. It is therefore unknown how individual elder care behaviors relate to certain roles occupied and resources possessed on the part of adult daughters and sons. Also, amount or frequency of care (weekly or monthly provision) could not be studied due to small cell size. No controls were used in the analyses.

Only limited types of elder care tasks were included as part of this study. Additional elder care behaviors that could have been studied were not included in the survey. In particular, emotional care was not included. The 1990 GSS did not include specific questionnaire items pertaining to emotional care provided by adult children to an elderly parent. This is a limitation considering that emotional support is the most commonly identified type of help exchanged by older persons and their children (Rosenthal & Gladstone, 1994). Researchers have shown that adult children perceive themselves as most able to provide emotional support to a dependent elderly parent (Wolfson et al., 1993).

The gender of the elderly parent receiving unpaid care also is unknown. Researchers have noted that the gender of the parent often relates to the gender of the adult child caregiver. In particular, caregivers tend to be the same gender as care recipients (Lee et al., 1993). A further limitation is that it is not known whether care was provided for one or two elderly parents. Some adult children may be providing care to only one parent while others are caring for two older parents simultaneously. Those individuals caring for both mothers and fathers may be expected to be the most constrained in fulfilling multiple roles.

As an explanation for why small proportions of adult children provided care, many adult children may have been unable to provide elder care due to the factor of geographic distance. This variable was not controlled. In this study, 45% of adult sons and 49% of adult daughters lived 100KM or farther from their mothers, while 51% of sons and 54% of daughters lived 100KM or farther from their fathers. Geographic distance or proximity moderates the effects of variables related to caregiving by adult children (Mercier, Paulson, & Morris, 1989). Those adult children who live a considerable distance from elderly parents are simply not available to directly provide informal elder care tasks such as housework, personal care, maintenance, or transportation assistance. White and Peterson (1995), among other researchers, discovered distance to be negatively related to care provision by adult children.

Caregiving roles were not measured or controlled, but researchers have indicated that adult children do not expect to provide physical assistance and financial support to older parents in comparison to emotional support (Wolfson et al., 1993). Many older parents themselves do not expect or want to receive unpaid care from their adult children (Lee, Netzer, & Coward, 1994) This may explain the very small proportions of sample respondents who provided personal care and financial support. Both the inability and unwillingness to provide care, along with unwillingness to accept care, are plausible reasons for the failure of higher proportions of Canadian adult children to provide parental care.

It is also quite probable that the majority of older parents did not require any care or support with housework, maintenance, transportation, personal care, or financial support from their adult children in the 12 months prior to the survey. Age was not used as a control variable. Considering that the mean age of mothers and fathers in the sample was 72 and 73 respectively, most parents were not of advanced age, and therefore, perhaps did not need any assistance particularly with personal care. They may have been quite healthy to provide self-care. The functional status of elderly parents was not measured here. Age is often used as a proxy for functionality. It has been found by researchers that elders of advanced age (85 and older) require much more assistance with tasks of daily living such as meal preparation, shopping, housework,

personal finances, and personal care than elders aged 65-74 (Chappell, 1994b). Adult children report being more likely to help when parents are older (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Starrels et al., 1995; White & Peterson, 1995).

Results of this study should not be interpreted to mean that adult children are in contact with their parents on an infrequent basis. A large proportion of adult daughters (34%) and sons (35%) saw their mothers at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. A somewhat smaller percentage of daughters (28%) and sons (26%) saw their fathers at least once a week in the past 12 months. Some of this contact with elderly mothers and fathers may have involved the provision of emotional support. Frequent contact between older parents and adult children in Canada has been shown to be common (Chappell & Prince, 1994).

Table 5-1

Sample Characteristics: Social Roles of Respondents by Gender: Frequencies and Percentages

	Males		Females	
Social Roles	n	%	n	%
Marital Status				
Married/Cohabitating	1237	77	1330	71
Unmarried	366	23	555	29
Parental Status				
No children <19	787	53	978	58
All children between 5 & 18	534	36	569	34
At least one child <5	157	11	143	9
Employment Status				
Employed	1414	89	1139	61
Unemployed	177	11	744	39
Occupation				
Other occupation	943	65	780	58
Managerial /Administrative / Professional	516	35	567	42

Note. Unweighted GSS data used.

Table 5-2

Sample Characteristics: Individual Resources of Respondents by Gender: Frequencies, Percentages, and Descriptive Statistics

	Males		Females	
Individual Resources	n	%	n	%
Education				
Less than post secondary	898	57	1123	60
Post secondary	685	43	753	40

	N	Range	Mean	Median	SD
			Males		
Personal Income [a]	1346	$0-80,000	$36,640	$35,000	$18,663
			Females		
Personal Income [a]	1507	$0-80,000	$18,242	$15,000	$15,904

Note. Unweighted GSS data used.

[a] Personal Income was measured as a continuous variable here. Income in the 1990 GSS data set was capped at $80,000.

Table 5-3

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Unpaid Elder Care Tasks by Gender of Respondent

	Males	Females			
Elder Care Tasks	%	%	χ^2	N	v
Housework Care given	3 (41)	11 (214)	98.86***	3499	1
Maintenance Care given	11 (173)	8 (141)	11.60***	3501	1
Transportation Care given	11 (169)	17 (320)	29.72***	3499	1
Personal Care Care given	-	4 (70)	26.56***	3501	1
Financial Support Care given	3 (45)	3 (56)	.08	3502	1

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses. Unweighted GSS data used.

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

- Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

Table 5-4

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Marital Status and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	Males			Females		
	Married/ Cohabitating	Unmarried		Married / Cohabitating	Unmarried	
	%	%	χ^2 (N,v)	%	%	χ^2 (N,v)
Housework						
Care given	2 (29)	-	1.01 (1599,1)	12 (153)	11 (61)	.10 (1883,1)
Maintenance						
Care given	11 (132)	11 (41)	.09 (1600,1)	7 (94)	9 (47)	1.13 (1884,1)
Transportation						
Care given	11 (130)	10 (38)	.00 (1599,1)	18 (240)	15 (80)	3.55 (1883,1)
Personal Care						
Care given	-	-	-	4 (58)	-	5.27* (1884,1)
Financial Support						
Care given	2 (30)	-	2.92 (1601,1)	3 (42)	-	.54 (1884,1)

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses. Unweighted GSS data used.

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

- Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

Table 5-5

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Ages of Children in Hov ehold and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	No children <19	At least one child <5	All children between 5 & 18	
	%	%	%	χ^2(N,v)
Females				
Housework Care given	11 (111)	15 (21)	11 (64)	1.44 (1688,2)
Maintenance Care given	8 (73)	-	9 (48)	.54 (1689,2)
Transportation Care given	17 (170)	20 (28)	17 (95)	.65 (1688,2)
Personal Care Care given	5 (48)	-	-	9.23**(1689,2)
Financial Support Care given	3 (24)	-	4 (20)	6.46* (1689,2)
Males				
Housework Care given	3 (21)	-	-	.30 (1475,2)
Maintenance Care given	10 (79)	14 (21)	12 (62)	1.96 (1475,2)
Transportation Care given	11 (83)	13 (20)	10 (51)	1.37 (1474,2)
Personal Care Care given	-	-	-	-
Financial Support Care given	3 (22)	-	-	2.29 (1476,2)

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses.
Unweighted GSS data used.

* p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001 - Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

Table 5-6

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Employment Status and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	Females			Males		
	Unemployed %	Employed %	χ^2 (N,v)	Unemployed %	Employed %	χ^2 (N,v)
Housework Care given	12 (88)	11 (126)	.25 (1881,1)	-	3 (36)	.05 (1587,1)
Maintenance Care given	5 (40)	9 (101)	7.95** (1882,1)	-	12 (162)	4.49* (1588,1)
Transportation Care given	15 (110)	19 (210)	4.32* (1881,1)	-	11 (157)	5.02* (1587,1)
Personal Care Care given	5 (35)	3 (35)	3.33 (1882,1)	-	-	-
Financial Support Care given	-	4 (40)	2.90 (1882,1)	-	3 (39)	.15 (1589,1)

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses. Unweighted GSS data used.

* p<.05 ** p <.01 *** p<.001

- Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

Table 5-7

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Occupation and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	Males			Females		
	Managerial/ Administrative/ Professional	Other		Managerial/ Administrative/ Professional	Other	
	%	%	χ^2 (N,v)	%	%	χ^2 (N,v)
Housework Care given	-	2 (20)	2.49 (1456,1)	13 (72)	12 (93)	.19 (1345,1)
Maintenance Care given	12 (61)	11 (104)	.23 (1456,1)	10 (56)	8 (63)	1.30 (1346,1)
Transportation Care given	11 (54)	11 (107)	.25 (1455,1)	19 (107)	18 (138)	.28 (1345,1)
Personal Care Care given	-	-	-	4 (25)	4 (28)	.58 (1346,1)
Financial Support Care given	4 (21)	-	5.30* (1457,1)	4 (20)	4 (28)	.00 (1346, 1)

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses.
Unweighted GSS data used.

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

- Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

Table 5-8

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Personal Income and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	($0 thru $21,000) %	($22,000 thru $42,000) %	($43,000 and over) %	χ^2(N,v)
Females				
Housework				
Care given	12 (112)	14 (61)	-	5.17 (1506, 4)
Maintenance				
Care given	8 (76)	9 (39)	-	.69 (1507, 4)
Transportation				
Care given	17 (164)	20 (87)	-	12.06* (1506, 4)
Personal Care				
Care given	4 (37)	-	-	.50 (1507, 4)
Financial Support				
Care given	3 (24)	-	-	.59 (1507, 4)
Males				
Housework				
Care given	-	-	-	-
Maintenance				
Care given	11 (30)	11 (70)	12 (50)	.74 (1345, 4)
Transportation				
Care given	7 (21)	10 (66)	14 (57)	7.28 (1344, 4)
Personal Care				
Care given	-	-	-	-
Financial Support				
Care given	-	-	-	-

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. Income was capped at $80,000. Observed frequencies in parentheses. Unweighted GSS data used.

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

- Observed frequencies too small for release ($n<20$).

Table 5-9

Cross- tabulations and Chi- square Statistics on Education and Unpaid Elder Care by Gender of Respondent

	Females			Males		
	Less than post secondary %	Post secondary %	χ^2 (N,v)	Less than post secondary %	Post secondary %	χ^2 (N,v)
Housework Care given	11 (125)	12 (88)	.13 (1874,1)	-	3 (20)	1.05 (1579,1)
Maintenance Care given	7 (80)	8 (61)	.61 (1875,1)	10 (87)	12 (85)	3.01 (1580,1)
Transportation Care given	17 (190)	17 (128)	.00 (1874,1)	9 (84)	12 (82)	2.97 (1579,1)
Personal Care Care given	4 (39)	4 (31)	.52 (1875,1)	-	-	-
Financial Support Care given	2 (27)	4 (28)	2.72 (1875,1)	-	4 (26)	5.37* (1581,1)

Note. Care given includes care provided either less than once a month; at least once a month; or at least once a week in the 12 months prior to the survey. Observed frequencies in parentheses.
Unweighted GSS data used.

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

- Observed frequencies too small for release (n<20).

CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION

The central question asked in this thesis was: How do social roles and individual resources of adult daughters and sons relate to unpaid elder care by female and male adult children to elderly parents?

In the first part of this chapter major findings regarding the relationships between social roles and individual resources of adult children and their involvement in elder care will be discussed in the context of the conceptual framework and research literature addressed earlier. The implications of the study for future research, theory, policy and practice are described in the latter part of the chapter.

Gendered Parental Care in Canada

The results of data analyses reveal that adult daughters are the major providers of unpaid care to aging parents. A greater proportion of daughters than sons provide housework and transportation, whereas more sons provide maintenance. These findings are not surprising. Housework is a traditional female behavioral task while maintenance is a traditional male behavioral task. Other researchers have also demonstrated a gendered division of labor in families (Matthews, 1995; Witt, 1994). Gender is said to be the most powerful factor affecting allocation of caregiving labor (Keith, 1995).

It was interesting to find financial support provided by the same proportion of daughters and sons considering that female respondents had significantly lower mean incomes than male respondents. As an explanation, obligations on the part of adult children to provide financial support may not differ by gender. In a study examining adult children's perceptions of responsibility to provide care for dependent elderly parents, there were found to be no gender

differences between sons and daughters in their expressed sense of obligation to provide financial support (Wolfson et al., 1993).

Competing Commitments and Demands of Adult Child Caregivers

Results indicate that many adult children in Canada are faced with marital, parenting, employment / occupational and elder care roles. Multiple roles may represent divided allegiances (Hawranik, 1985). Those particular adult children who are fulfilling various concurrent role responsibilities require consideration and discussion in order to understand their situations.

In this study, it did not seem to matter whether competing family and paid work role responsibilities were encountered by adult children. Marital, parenting, employment, and occupational roles did not on the whole significantly relate to the provision of unpaid elder care by either adult daughters or sons. Other researchers have also found this to be true (Crawford et al., 1994). Some gender similarities between adult daughters and sons were found in the relationships between roles and unpaid elder care.

Elder care role negotiation is not apparent in the findings of the current study. It appears that neither adult daughters nor adult sons are utilizing role justifications with which to alleviate elder care. This was expected in the case of women but unexpected in the case of men. It is thought that men will not assume elder care responsibilities when faced with competing roles such as marriage or occupation. Role balancing is reality within the lives of many male and female Canadians who *are* faced with impinging role responsibilities and commitments (Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1993).

Balancing Unpaid Family and Paid Work Role Responsibilities

It is apparent that a relatively large proportion of adult children in Canada are faced with having to reconcile or balance competing paid work and unpaid family demands. They are

essentially "in the middle" of such role demands (Spitze & Logan, 1990b). This is consistent with conceptual assumptions of role theorists. Adult daughters are expected to successfully juggle competing commitments (Brody, 1990; Finch & Mason, 1993). No fewer married women with preschool and/or school aged children in the household and who are employed in professional occupations provide parental care than women without such roles, as consistent with the hypotheses proposed in this study. Other researchers have reported similar results (Crawford et al., 1994)

The proposition that a crisis in elder caregiving will result due to a decrease in the amount of unpaid working time available to women (Myles, 1991) appears not to be upheld by the evidence from the current study. In fact, it was found here that a greater proportion of employed than unemployed daughters provided maintenance and transportation for an elderly parent. Many employed women may "work" even harder to ensure that specific responsibilities of care are being met. Maintenance can be scheduled to be provided in a flexible manner, such as evenings and weekends.

Based on the results of this study, it also appears true that many adult sons are faced with having to balance marital, parenting, employment / occupational, and elder care roles. No differences between married and unmarried men in the provision of care were found. An adult son's participation in family-caring work is not negligible. The National Advisory Council on Aging (1995) states that it is important to avoid the image that issues related to balancing work and family roles are purely women's concerns. Role balancing on the part of adult sons in families has not been adequately discussed by researchers due to the assumption that men are able to resolve competing demands.

The absence of any relationships between occupation and elder care amongst males were unexpected. It has been previously shown that there are differences amongst men in work interference with family depending upon occupational status (Martin Matthews & Rosenthal, 1994). It is thought that adult sons in higher status jobs are able to use their occupation as a legitimate role justification for not providing care. The measurement of elder care may provide

an explanation. In this study, the presence or absence of any care was measured. Previous researchers have often measured the amount or frequency of care provided in relation to occupation. Professional men may provide a lesser amount of parental care. The combination of greater work role demands *and* greater work role flexibility of professionals may also explain the absence of a relationship. In particular, although professionals face greater time pressures they are able to adjust their working schedules to accommodate elder care demands (Neal et al., 1993).

For adult daughters the absence of a relationship between occupation and elder care was not unexpected. These findings are in agreement with those of other researchers (Starrels et al., 1995). Although more women are moving into elite work positions they are still expected to care for family members in need (Baber & Allen, 1992). This assumption is supported. Mutschler (1994) claims that caregivers in all occupational groups must find ways to meet responsibilities to dependent elders while continuing to carry out the duties that make up their jobs. This is true for men and women. Similarities between sons and daughters exist in the relationship between occupation and elder care, as revealed in this study.

Concerning the presence of children, the majority of women and men did not have any preschool or school aged children in the household at the time of the survey that may pose a role constraint in caring for an older parent. The average age of respondents was 42. It has been mentioned by Spitze & Logan (1990b) that there is little evidence that the roles of being an adult child caregiver and parenting young children are demanding at the same time. In contrast, Stone (1994) reports that individuals who are heavily oriented toward child care and mostly oriented toward parent care are mainly concentrated in the 25-44 age range. With the trend toward delay in age of childbearing, the probability of overlapping child care and elder care responsibilities may increase over time (Himes, 1992).

Consequences of Elder Care Involvement

The provision of unpaid care can result in role conflict, stress, burden, and work opportunity costs for adult children. Without elder care role negotiation no resolution of role conflict is expected. Much discussion has centered around the well-being of elder caregivers who are faced with multiple responsibilities (Doress-Worters, 1994; Loomis & Booth, 1995). Researchers have demonstrated the existence of conflict amongst those family members with various roles (Finley et al.,1988; Gerstel & Gallagher, 1993; Neal et al., 1993).

In terms of employment, as revealed here, both employed adults sons and daughters provide elder care. It has been repeatedly reported that conflict between work and family is experienced when individuals provide care to aging relatives (CARNET, 1993; Lechner, 1994; Scharlach, 1994). This is true for both employed males and females. CARNET (1993) indicates that individuals providing child care with elder care have the highest levels of work-family conflict.

On the basis of the results of this study, it is unknown whether adult daughters or sons who provide unpaid care experience greater conflict and work accommodations to facilitate elder caregiving. Previous research has shown that women, in comparison to men, have more difficulty combining work and family (Neal et al., 1993). Females perceive more role conflict involved in caring for their parents than do males (Finley, 1989). Stone and Short (1990) indicate that the probability of female caregivers accommodating their work schedules to provide elder care is higher than for their male counterparts.

The division of caregiving responsibilities between men and women is of relevance in understanding gendered role conflict and work accommodations. As demonstrated in this study, gender continues to be an influential factor in the allocation of unpaid elder care behaviors in Canada. The type of task most commonly provided by males, maintenance, can be scheduled to be provided in a flexible manner. Whereas, housework and transportation that are more commonly provided by females, cannot be scheduled to be provided in as flexible a manner. Adult daughters may experience greater time stress as a result of caring.

Individual Resources

It was found that for adult daughters and sons neither personal income nor education were related to elder care. These findings are contrary to those of other researchers who indicate that fewer adult children with advanced education and higher incomes provide care (Moen et al., 1994 ; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Elder care role negotiation as conceptualized in this study does not appear to exist for either daughters or sons when resources are taken into account. It may be that resources matter to the amount of care provided but not involvement in care. Many researchers have examined amount of care provided in relation to resources. Fewer adult children with advanced education and higher incomes may provide care as frequently as those individuals without resources. The provision of less frequent care would represent role negotiation.

It is theorized that resources decrease consensus toward traditional social roles (Thoits, 1987). Considering that roles and perceived alternatives were not measured in this study it is unknown whether they are in fact affected by educational attainment or personal income level. It is also not known whether formal private care services are purchased by high income earners to support their own caregiving efforts. Research exploring these inquiries has been limited. Income may function as a negotiation resource as it relates to role balancing. Caregivers with higher incomes have less difficulty combining roles (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen, & Boise, 1990).

Implications of Findings

The results of this study have implications for future research, theory, policy and practice in the context of informal and formal elder care provision in Canada. They are presented below.

Research and Theory

In this study, it was found that multiple roles are assumed by many adult children without there being any elder care role negotiation. Role balancing on the part of adult daughters and sons is apparent. However, an understanding of *how* sons and daughters balance roles to accommodate elder care demands has not been determined. Such information is lacking. Qualitative interviews with individual adult daughters and sons engaged in balancing multiple responsibilities of elder care, employment, child care, spousal care, and other roles should therefore be conducted in order for them to share their personal experiences of how such roles are balanced. In-depth information can be gained. Gender comparisons can also be made. Qualitative work in this area is only starting to be developed. Theories can be further developed by utilizing qualitative methods. Triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative methods in one study would be appropriate. Qualitative methods could be used initially until hypotheses develop or emerge. Hypotheses could then be tested using quantitative methods.

In this study, roles and behaviors were studied at one point in time. Studying roles occupied and their relationships to elder caregiving at one point is limiting. Most current research is cross-sectional. Longitudinal or time series research studies are necessary in order to analyze possible changes over time in the elder care behaviors of adult children in connection with changes in roles and resources. The same group of persons can be studied over time. Roles are not static, but change (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). For example, those adult daughters and sons who experience a change in employment status can be studied in terms of determining whether their caregiving behaviors also change. In this study, it was found that a smaller proportion of

unemployed adult daughters provided maintenance and transportation in comparison to employed daughters. It is unknown whether a change in employment status resulted in a change in care provision. Such information can be discovered through time series studies.

Policy and Practice

The results of this study have implications for policy. Since multiple roles are fulfilled by adult children in Canada as revealed here, government and business need to clearly acknowledge an individual's family responsibilities (Alford-Cooper, 1993). For example, the finding that substantial numbers of employed adult children provide care to aging parents has implications for policy. Elder care policies specific to employment or the workplace are deemed necessary for employees who are family caregivers. Policies are said to set the parameters for the way in which work is structured (Neal et al., 1993).

It is claimed that, "... employer policies and managerial attitudes are not uniformly supportive of the delicate balance between work and family life" (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995, p. 18). Some employers have become aware of work-family conflicts (Liebig, 1993). Workplace policies influence employees' (male and female) options for work accommodations to facilitate elder care provision (Neal et al., 1993). The phrase "family friendly job environment" is used to refer to working conditions, on the job, that are designed to help employees minimize conflict between obligations to their employers and those to their families (Stone, 1994). An increased amount of research has been done on examining effective workplace strategies. For example, caregiver information and referral, financial benefits, and varied support programs are necessary (Barr et al., 1992; CARNET, 1993; Greene & Coleman, 1995). Additional services include work schedule and location flexibility. Flexibility in the structure of work is one of the most important types of support that employers can provide for employees with dependent care responsibilities (Neal et al., 1993).

Targeting programs is of concern. Since it was found here that type of occupation and income level were not related to elder care, innovative workplace programs are required by both

high income earning and low income earning employees who work in higher and lower status jobs. The specific types of programs designed though may need to be based upon the unique work situations of each group. For example, professionals may require special assistance in coping with time pressures, in that, their paid work role may require greater work role demands or responsibilities than other workers.

Regarding gender, considering that both men and women provide elder care as documented throughout this study, workplace programs and policies developed and implemented should be geared to both males and females in order to avoid a gender or sexist bias. The same is true of community programs and services designed for family members. Programmers need to recognize the caregiving contributions of both sons and daughters and support them in their caregiving efforts. Interventions can act to relieve role conflict of adult children.

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APPENDIX A

DEPENDENT VARIABLES: 1990 STATISTICS CANADA GSS FAMILY AND FRIENDS QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS ON UNPAID CARE TASKS

F8. During the past 12 months, have you done any unpaid housework outside your home such as cooking, sewing or cleaning?

Yes - - - - -
No - - - - - -

F9. For which person or organization?

	How often did you provide this help?		
	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less than once a month
Son			
Daughter			
Parent			
Brother/sister			
Other relative			
Friend/neighbor			
Organization/other			

F12. During the past 12 months, have you helped anyone outside your household with house maintenance or outside work such as repairs, painting, carpentry, lawn mowing or shoveling snow?

Yes - - - - - -
No - - - - - - -

F13. For which person or organization?

	How often did you provide this help?		
	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less than once a month
Son			
Daughter			
Parent			
Brother/sister			
Other relative			
Friend/neighbor			
Organization/other			

F16. During the past 12 months, have you provided unpaid transportation to anyone outside your household, such as driving them to an appointment or shopping?

Yes - - - - -
No - - - - - -

F17. For which person or organization?

	How often did you provide this help?		
	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less than once a month
Son			
Daughter			
Parent			
Brother/sister			
Other relative			
Friend/neighbor			
Organization/other			

F22. During the past 12 months, have you provided any unpaid personal care, such as help bathing or dressing, to anyone outside your household?

Yes - - - - -
No - - - - - -

F23. For which person or organization?

	How often did you provide this help?		
	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less than once a month
Son			
Daughter			
Parent			
Brother/sister			
Other relative			
Friend/neighbor			
Organization/other			

F24. During the past 12 months, have you provided financial support to anyone outside your household?

Yes - - - - -
No - - - - - -

F26. For which person or organization?

	How often did you provide this help?		
	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less than once a month
Son			
Daughter			
Parent			
Brother/sister			
Other relative			
Friend/neighbor			
Organization/other			